1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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daily tasks, whether on their own *milpas*[1] on the margins of the town or in *haciendas*, mills, or mines still farther away, tne male inhabitants scatter outside the village, returning at the end of the day, the week, or the season. But while the villagers live by agriculture, the village lives by trade. It is essentially a market, and the central *plaza*, where occur the periodic markets attended by people from other villages and where are situated all the public buildings and the private dwellings of size and importance, dominates and affords a focus for the town. The village, like Mexico itself, has a center and a periphery.

The state of Morelos lies upon the southern escarpment. It is the only state which lies entirely upon the slope; it forms one steep stairway up to the tableland. It is a small state, about the size of Delaware, but in its brief extent there is a descent of eight thousand feet. Its northern margin, the Sierra of Ajusco, which forms the southern rim of the great central basin, is a region of pine forests, chill winds, and charcoal-burners, while in the southern part of the state are tropical lowlands which produce coconuts and malaria.

Although only a small part of the state contains arable land,[2] nevertheless among the steep confusion of the mountains there are many sloping valleys which contain good soil and either receive sufficient rain or are watered by streams which arise in higher and wetter regions.

[1] Small agricultural tracts cultivated by individuals for their own benefit.

[2] About 10 per cent, according to Francisco Bulnes, *The Whole Truth about Mexico*, p. 88.

[facing page 21]



TEPOZTLAN: THE *PLAZA*

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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Sugar made Morelos a 175
contributor to the wealth of Mexico, but it reduced 249
the population to landless peonage. The revolution 423
which began in 1910, especially in Morelos, may be 669
regarded as the conflict between two social-economic systems: the one an ancient Indian tradition of self-sufficient and independent villages enjoying corporate land tenure, and the other a new capitalistic system of large-scale production of a money crop contributory to a world-economy. The agrarian reforms following the revolution broke up some of these estates. Others were kept together and operated by the state in an attempt to preserve the sugar plantations; but many lands where sugar was once grown have reverted to maize.

The northern border of Morelos lies along a part of 133
the rampart which hems in the valley of Mexico. Going south from Mexico City, one climbs this valley wall, the Sierra of Ajusco, at an elevation of nine thousand feet above the sea. Standing upon the southern edge of the escarpment one stands also on the threshold of Morelos. There the rampart drops suddenly away into warm green valleys that go on and down one beyond the other in a maze of slighter mountains that from this eminence are no more than hills.

In each shelf or pocket of the mountains lies a vil- 131
lage, or a cluster of villages. Close underneath the 133
row of peaks[1] which forms the last bulwark of the 361
escarpment is situated Tepoztlán. This village is the

[1] This *sierra*, the southwestern margin of the *cordillera* of Ajusco, extends southeastward to the *pueblo* of Tlayacapan, Morelos. It is composed of basaltic tufa and fine volcanic ash.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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center of a cluster of villages which is not four miles in radius but which includes a descent of about twenty-five hundred feet, from San Juanico at an altitude of seven thousand feet to Santiago at about forty-five hundred.[1] These villages rest upon the topmost steps of the stairway, and these steps are the steepest.

Tepoztlán lies at the focus of a parabola of mountains the northern arm of which is the last escarpment wall. The southern arm is a range of somewhat lower mountains. The parabola opens southeastward; from Tepoztlán at its head the land slopes swiftly down to the valley of Yautepec. Thus Tepoztlán is not visible from the escarpment edge, but is hidden behind this screen of mountains, although from certain points almost half the extent of the state can be seen.

Whether the village is approached from above or from below it remains hidden in large part until it is actually entered. A density of trees, most of which bear either edible fruits or showy flowers, conceals the houses, which are all flat roofed and one story in height. Only the churches are taller; here and there they pierce the foliage. The great central church (*templo mayor*) on the *plaza* is by far the largest building in Tepoztlán; its great walls, crenelated to serve as battlements, and its two tall bell-towers dominate a village that, in the rainy season, escapes into and is lost in foliage.

[1] The *plaza* at Tepoztlán is at an altitude of about 1,700 meters (5,500 ft.) above sea-level.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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TLAHUILTEPETL, "MOUNTAIN OF LIGHT": LOOKING TOWARD THE *BARRIO* OF SANTA CRUZ

[facing page 24]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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these sources. Ixcatepec and Santiago are situated farther down the valley, outside the protecting walls, along the San Jerónimo, a tiny stream which arises in Tepoztlán and flows into the Rio Yautepec. The other five hamlets are almost or quite without immediate water; indeed, at Santa Catarina all water is carried to the town from a distance of about half a mile.

The small villages are naturally tributary to Tepoztlán because Tepoztlán is the large village to which they are nearest, but more particularly because most of them lie along the principal roads leading out of Tepoztlán. At the upper end of the valley, where the mountain wall is low, two roads go out: one north to Mexico City, the other southwest to Cuernavaca. San Juanico is situated on the former road; just off the latter road lies San Andres, and directly on it, Santa Catarina. The third road runs southeast down the widening valley to Yautepec. On this are situated Ixcatepec and Santiago. Santo Domingo and Amatlán lie on no main artery of travel, and for this reason they are much less definitely a part of the constellation of communities than are the other five. Much less often do the inhabitants of these two hamlets contribute to the market at Tepoztlán, or attend the *fiestas* there.

There is a great deal of travel among the villages of Morelos, and nearly all of it is travel on foot. A man or a woman of Tepoztlán will not infrequently make weekly trips, on foot, to Yautepec or to Cuernavaca, and will make the thirty-five or forty miles there and back in one day, often bearing a heavy load both

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It is clear that topographic factors have been of some significance in fixing *barrio* boundaries. In many cases there is now a *barranca* or a sudden declivity where one *barrio* ends and another begins. This is especially notable in the cases of the boundaries between San Pedro and Los Reyes, Los Reyes and Santa Cruz, Los Reyes and San Sebastian, La Santísima and Santo Domingo. Tepoztlán, it has already been observed, is situated on a steep slope, and the *barrios* occur in the order previously given from the upper end of the slope to the lower. If one looks at the town from the mountains on the south side of the valley, the seven chapels appear in a ranking series, one above another. This relation may be indicated in the following diagram. San Miguel extends over two levels.

San Pedro
Los Reyes
San Sebastian
and Santa Cruz
La Santísima
and San Miguel
San Miguel and
Santo Domingo

It is worthy of note that those pairs of *barrios* which occur at the same level resemble one another in cultural features more than other pairs. Thus, San Sebastian and Santa Cruz have special similarities in occupations and religious sentiments and bear the same animal appellation (as will be later explained); while in the case of San Miguel and La Santísima one

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*796 San Pedro is too small to supply enough, but they are
535 instructed by a *maestro* in San Pedro. They wear em-
[292] broidered skirts, silk neckerchiefs, and small paper crowns surmounted by a black ostrich-feather plume. They dance around a tall pole and in dancing interweave colored ribbons.[1] They do not sing.

*796 A *castillo del día* is burned; everyone of the *barrio*
[541] eats *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[262] *April 30 and May 1.*—These days form the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa* of the *fiesta* just passed.

[794] *May 2.*—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of Santa
[533] Cruz on this day.

*May 3.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of Santa Cruz. It is not an important *fiesta*. There is a
[541] *castillo de la noche* and of course the people of the
[262] barrio eat *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[778] This day is also the day on which crosses are raised at street corners, above water tanks, on conspicuous hills. The crosses are hung with flowers and copal is
[333] burned before them. It is also the day specially de-
[541] voted to the masons, who sometimes set off rockets to celebrate.[2]

132 The first of the rains have come now, occasional and
133 uncertain showers. Only at *Axihtla*, the cleft in the hills where arises the *barranca* of San Jeronimo, does fresh bright green appear, and in parts of the *barrio* of Santo Domingo, better watered than other regions.

[1] This "May Pole" is not necessarily European in origin. Sahagun refers to such a dance.

[2] The *fiesta* of the masons is generally celebrated in Mexico City.

[i.e. LOS DANZANTES of the fiesta of San Pedro - ANALYST]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

# 1 *the setting:*

THE VILLAGE of Tepoztlán is in the state of Morelos, about sixty miles south of Mexico City. It is connected by a paved road with the Mexico City–Cuernavaca highway and is fifteen miles northeast of Cuernavaca. The village forms part of the municipio of Tepoztlán which embraces an area of 60,000 acres and consists of eight villages: San Juan, Santo Domingo, Amatlán, Ixcatepec, Gabriel Mariaca, San Andrés, Santiago, and Tepoztlán proper. The northern section of the municipio coincides in part with the boundary line between the state of Morelos and the Federal District. (See Fig. 2.)

## *PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT*

The topography of the state of Morelos can be described as a sugar bowl, tilted to the southeast, with mountains forming the outer rim and the level, fertile lands of the sugar plantations forming the center. The municipio of Tepoztlán is on the northern rim of this bowl. It extends from the rugged, mountainous, and heavily wooded country in the north, down the slope of the Ajusco Mountain range to the level, fertile lands of the sugar plantation area near Yautepec. From the northern limits near Milpa Alta to the southern limits near Yautepec, a distance of about seventeen miles, there is a drop in altitude from about 10,500 feet [1] to about 3,700. While most of the villages tend to cluster near the center of the municipio (none are found in the extreme northern or southern portions), there is nevertheless a wide range in altitude among them. Indeed, the villages are located at seven different levels. The widest range is between San Juan in the north at about 7,000 feet, and San Andrés in the south at about 4,300 feet. But even in the case of Tepoztlán and San Juan, which are less than four miles apart, one is 2,000 feet above the other. (See Fig. 3.)

The northern part of the municipio is in *tierra fría* or the cold zone; the middle part is in *tierra templada* or the temperate zone; and the southern part is in *tierra*

[1] Otlayuca, the highest point in the northern portion of the municipio, is 3,151 meters or about 10,335 feet. See *Carta General del Estado de Morelos*, Secretaría de Fomento (Mexico, D.F., 1910).

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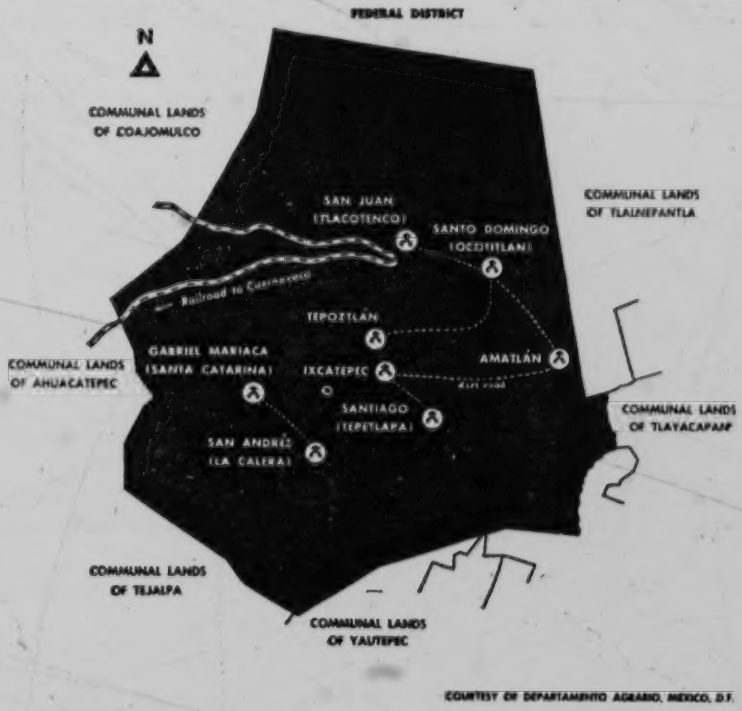


Fig. 2. Tepoztlán and surrounding municipios.

132 *caliente* or the hot zone. San Juan, the highest village, is at the lower limit of
133 *tierra fría* while San Andrés, the lowest village, is at the upper limit of *tierra caliente*. Three of the villages, Tepoztlán proper, Ixcatepec, and Amatlán, are at approximately the same level within the temperate zone. Santo Domingo is about intermediate between the cold zone and the temperate zone, and Santiago is about intermediate between the hot zone and the temperate zone.

137 To the north of the village is the mountainous and heavily wooded area locally known as the monte, which constitutes approximately fifty per cent of the total area of the municipio. The predominant trees are pine, fir, oak, and madroña.[2] [313] The monte with its forest constitutes the greatest single natural resource of the [628] municipio. It has traditionally been the source of firewood, lumber, and charcoal; and, as we shall see later, the monte has been the subject of bitter inter-village

[824] [2] The species of trees in the monte are as follows: oak or *encino* (*Quercus reticulata*), (*Quercus albocinata*), and (*Quercus Laurina*); fir or *ayamel* (*Abies religiosa*); pine or *ocote*, (*Pinus patula*); *Cuazochitl* (unidentified).

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quarrels and many political struggles within the municipio and the village. Most of the monte is in *tierra fría*. Here the rainy season begins a few weeks earlier than in the lower regions, and the atmosphere is more humid because of the low hanging clouds. Here the soil is porous and unsuitable for adobe.

Most of the houses are therefore made of cane, straw, or wattle, and the majority of the roofs are made of wooden boards instead of tile as in Tepoztlán. Wooden boards are also put on the floor by those who can afford them for protection against the damp and cold. In the village of San Juan, which is in this region, corn is planted earlier, ripens later, and is less subject to the ravages of insects than in Tepoztlán

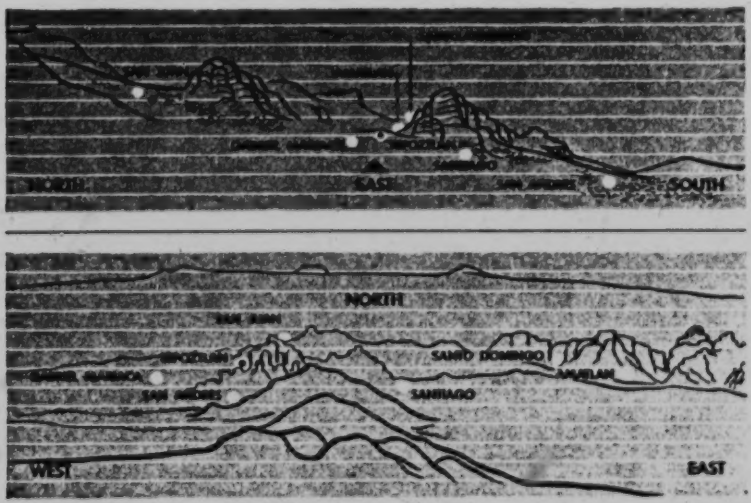


Fig. 3. Altitude of Tepoztlán and surrounding villages.

and the lower, warmer villages. Here there are no coffee trees, no hog plum, no banana, nor other tropical and semi-tropical fruits. But unlike the other villages, a little wheat, barley, lima beans, and some potatoes may be grown in San Juan. Also *capulín, tejocote*, peaches, pears, and other fruits grow much better than in Tepoztlán and the lower villages. Furthermore, San Juan has no malaria.

The southern half of the municipio is divided into two parts by a ridgelike chain of hills or *cerros* which extends from the southern wall of the valley of Tepoztlán and continues south to divide the entire state of Morelos into its two major topographic regions, the valley of Cuernavaca and the valley of Amilpas. Within the municipio of Tepoztlán the large area of land to the west of this divide slopes gently to the southwest where it merges with the valley of Cuernavaca. This region contains the greater portion of the arable land of the municipio; and two villages, Gabriel Mariaca and San Andrés, are located here. Here, too, is the land known as

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*texcal*, an area covered with volcanic rock and a thorny scrub forest with a predominating flora of copal gum, mimosalike legumes, a tree "sweet potato," and silk cotton trees.[8] *Texcal* covers a strip of land approximately two kilometers wide on the eastern limits of the municipio and constitutes about ten per cent of the total land area of the municipio. To the east of the divide is an area of rounded hills covered with scrub forest. These lands are known as *terrenos cerriles*. The predominating flora is *vera blanca*, *agualisca*, and scrub oak. Both the hill land and the land of the divide itself are used for grazing and for the planting of corn by the primitive cutting and burning method; and the trees from the cleared land are used for firewood. The villages of Santiago and Ixcatepec are located in the lower levels of this area, and the villages of Amatlán and Santo Domingo are found in pockets in the mountain chain which forms the eastern boundary of the municipio.

In viewing the land resources and types of land use in the municipio as a whole, we find there are five distinct types according to Tepoztecan categories: monte, *texcal*, *cerros*, *terrenos cerriles*, and *terrenos de temporal*. Each of these land types, with the exception of the *cerros*, plays an important role in the Tepoztecan economy. Their distribution is shown in Fig. 4. The approximate area of each of these land types and their uses are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Tepoztecan Land Types and Land Uses.

| Land Types | Land Uses | Percentage of Total Land Area of Municipio |
|---|---|---|
| Monte | Lumber, firewood, charcoal | 45 |
| *Texcal* | *Tlacolol* (hoe culture), firewood | 10 |
| *Terrenos cerriles* | Grazing, *tlacolol*, firewood | 18 |
| *Cerros* | Some grazing and *tlacolol* but mostly of no use | 12 |
| *Terrenos de temporal* | Plow agriculture | 15 |
| Total | | 100 |

The foregoing data are based on a survey made by the writer with the aid of Tepoztecan informants. A survey of the land resources of the municipio made by the Departamento Agrario in 1937 agrees quite closely with our own study (see Table 2), except that the categories used in classifying the lands are not those used by Tepoztecans.

It can be seen from Table 1 that the forest lands and grazing lands together account for the largest portion of the lands of the municipio, approximately sixty-three per cent. The agricultural poverty of the municipio as well as of the village of Tepoztlán can be seen from the fact that only about fifteen per cent of the total land area is available for plow agriculture. Furthermore, most of the cultivable land is highly eroded and of poor productive quality. Tepoztecans distinguish three

[8] The flora of the *texcal* consists primarily of *huaje blanco*—*Leucaena* (Leguminosae); *copal*—*Elaphrium* (Burseraceae); *Cuahuaje*—*Ipomoea* (Convolvulaceae); and *palo mulato*—*Elaphrium* (Burseraceae).

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Fig. 4. Land-use map of Municipio of Tepoztlán

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Fig. 5. Land classes, municipio of Tepoztlán.

312 maining villages must depend upon springs which in some cases are a mile distant.
631 The fact that the municipio has existed for hundreds of years as a political and social entity in the face of this lack of geographic unity raises interesting questions which will be discussed later.

## *THE VILLAGE*

133 Centrally located within the municipio, and nestled in a broad alluvial valley
361 surrounded by hills and massive rock outcroppings of fantastic and beautiful for-

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



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Fig. 6. Rock terrace in Tepoztlán.

133 [361] mations, lies the village of Tepoztlán.[8] (See Fig. 7.) These hills and rock outcroppings constitute two fairly well defined units. One begins just north of the village and curves toward the southeast, reaching to the neighboring municipio of Tlayacapan, a distance of about fifteen miles. The other begins just south of the village and extends to the east for a short distance to form the southern wall of the valley of Tepoztlán. The valley runs northwest-southeast and then turns directly south. The upper or northwestern end of the valley is considerably narrower than the lower end. The valley is drained by a small perennial stream locally known as the Río Atenco, which flows through the village and then turns east and south where it flows into the Yautepec River which in turn joins the Balsas River.

[823] The spectacular peaks and buttes of the rock outcroppings which rise to 1,200 feet above the village are locally known as *cerros* and are important landmarks to the people of Tepoztlán. Each *cerro* is known by its Náhuatl name and has an ancient 103 legend associated with it. Among the more important *cerros* are *El Tlahuitepetl*

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[8] In the early sixteenth-century documents Tepoztlán is called "Tepuztlan." Writers on the history of the village have suggested that the term is derived from the Náhuatl *tepoztli* (iron) and *tlan* (abundance); that is, Tepoztlán means "place of abundant iron." But there are no iron deposits in Tepoztlán, nor is there evidence of any in the past. More recently, Muller has suggested another interpretation which would seem to be more in accord with all the facts. She suggests that Tepoztlán is the Hispanicized version of the older Nahua term *Tepoztectla*, which means "place of the broken rocks." This is derived from *tetl* (rock) and *postectli* (broken), and is an accurate description of the village site. Muller claims that some of the early chroniclers used this term for Tepoztlán. There would still remain the problem of explaining the use of a copper ax as the glyph for Tepoztlán in the Codex Mendocino. It may be that this glyph was used because they had no other way of showing broken rock. Certainly copper axes may have been imported by the village.

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(peak of light), *El Ehecatepetl* (peak of air), *El Cihuapapolotzin* (peak of the butterfly), *El Tlamintepetl* (peak of the wounded), *El Chalchitepetl* (peak of the treasure), and *El Ocelotepetl* (peak of the tiger). One of these *cerros* has been an important archaeological site since 1895, when a stone temple of a Tepoztecan deity was unearthed. This temple and the great scenic beauty of the village has attracted many tourists in recent years.

The *cerros* which surround the village form a natural fortress, and the rugged hilly country of which they are a part has served as a refuge from attack at various times in the history of Tepoztlán and is ideally suited for guerrilla warfare. According to ancient Tepoztecan legend the *cerros* served as defensive outposts against hostile peoples long before the Conquest. When the Spaniards first came to the village in 1521, Tepoztecans fled to the *cerros;* and more recently during the Revolution of 1910-20, when Tepoztlán was the scene of intermittent guerrilla warfare between Zapatista and federal soldiers, Tepoztecans again sought refuge in the *cerros.*

The location of Tepoztlán in an intermediate position between *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* gives it the advantages of an excellent climate and a rich semi-tropical flora without the disadvantages of the cold to the north or the tropical heat to the south. Tepoztecans are aware of these advantages and consider themselves

Fig. 7. Tepoztlán, seen from cliffs to the north.

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year can be grown in Tepoztlán. Lack of water for irrigation is one of the most frequent complaints. Tepoztecans speak of the irrigated farming area of nearby Yautepec, where a few crops a year are grown, as an agricultural paradise.

A rich semi-tropical flora grows in the village. On almost any house site a great variety of plants and trees are found. The more common ones are *papaya*, coffee, *ciruela* (hog plum), *guaje*, *aguacate*, *chayote*, *mango*, banana, *maguey*, and some prickly pear. Most families grow a variety of flowers and herbs which are used for cooking and as medicines.

Like the municipio, the village of Tepoztlán is located on a slope (Fig. 8) and the resulting diversity of topography and climate noted for the municipio is also

Fig. 8. Tepoztlán lies on a steep incline.

characteristic of the village itself, except that the contrasts are less sharp. The upper part of the village is steeper, rockier, and somewhat cooler; the lower part is warmer and, being closer to the surrounding hills and better watered, has a richer flora and more abundant growth of *ciruela* and coffee trees. The incline runs from the northwest to the southeast, for the northern or upper part of the village is several hundred feet higher than the southern part.

The streets running north and south slope steeply. During the rainy season these streets are often converted into cascading streams which rush, knee-deep, downward toward the center. To avoid erosion many streets are stone-paved and terraced. The Aztec system of terracing by means of an ascending series of platforms and inclines is still conserved. (See Fig. 9.) However, many streets, particularly those in the outlying barrios, are neither paved nor terraced and are turned into slippery mud-holes or badly eroded gorges by the rains. Other streets are rough, boulder-strewn pathways which must be climbed rather than walked; still others are covered with weeds and scattered stones and resemble dried-out stream beds more than streets. (See Fig. 10.) The streets running east and west also tend to be hilly and irregular because of the streams, arroyos, and gorges which cut across the village. Only the paved road and the plaza in the center are on a more or less level plane.

The village is large, spread out, and roughly rectangular in shape. (See Fig. 11.) It is approximately two kilometers in length and one and one-half in width. Al-

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heard are the serenades of romantic youths, an occasional drunken peasant being taken home, and the animals.

Drinking water is supplied by a spring in one of the surrounding hills. The water is carried to street fountains by iron pipes which were first laid in 1902. Every barrio except San Pedro has one or more of these fountains. In the large barrios, fountains are placed at strategic street corners and are more numerous. In all there

Fig. 12. The end of the main street, Tepoztlán.

are twenty-six public fountains in the village. Most of them are made of clay and cement; some are semi-enclosed and protected by a roof, generally topped by a cross; others are merely open tanks. (See Fig. 14.)

A few homes near the center have water piped directly into their patios or kitchens. For this privilege a small tax is paid to the municipio. There is no attempt to control private use of the public water supply, and this has in the past caused some conflict. In several instances, persons with a private water supply permit relatives, friends, or *compadres* to take as much water as they wish; sometimes a neighbor will connect his water pipe to that of another, thus avoiding the tax. This uncontrolled use sometimes greatly decreases the flow of water into the nearest public fountain, particularly during the dry season when water is scarce. There have been

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# 7 agricultural systems:

Two CONTRASTING types of agriculture, representing different historical and technological levels, exist side by side in Tepoztlán. One is the primitive pre-Hispanic cutting and burning system of hoe culture; the other is the more modern post-Hispanic agriculture which uses plow and oxen. The differences between hoe culture (*tlacolol*)[1] and plow culture are not limited merely to the use of different tools; each system has far-reaching social and economic implications.

In Tepoztlán, plow culture and *tlacolol* have been known since the Spanish Conquest. In *tlacolol* the land used is the steep slopes of the *cerros* (Fig. 21) and

Fig. 21. Land used in hoe culture is steep, rocky, and wooded.

[1] This type of agriculture has been variously referred to in the literature as milpa agriculture, fire agriculture, slashing and burning, cutting and burning, etc. The use of the term "milpa agriculture," which was applied originally by O. F. Cook in his study of the Mayan area—"Milpa Agriculture, a Tropical System," *Smithsonian Institution Annual Report*, 1919—has established an unfortunate tradition, for the word "milpa" in Mexico refers to any cornfield whether in hoe culture or plow culture.

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Fig. 22. Land used in plow culture, in the broad valley bottom of the municipio.

the rocky wooded area of the volcanic *texcal;*[2] in plow culture the land is less sloping, less rocky, relatively treeless, and includes the broad valley bottom in the southern part of the municipio. *Tlacolol* is practiced on communally owned land and necessitates a great deal of time and labor but very little capital. Plow culture is practiced on privately owned land[3] and requires relatively little time and labor but considerable capital. In the former, there is a dependence almost exclusively upon family labor; in the latter, there is a greater dependence upon hired labor. In *tlacolol,* the yields are much greater per *cuartillo* of seed planted than in plow culture, but the amount of corn planted by each family is relatively little and never reaches the amount planted by a few of the larger operators in plow culture. In *tlacolol,* rotation

[432]
[242]

[2] Tepoztecans use the word *cerros* to refer both to the spectacular, butte-like rock outcropping which surrounds the village and to the steep slopes covered with scrub forest. *Texcal* refers to land covered with the relatively recent volcanic flow which supports a thorny scrub forest with a predominating flora of copal gum, mimosa-like legumes, a true "sweet potato," and silk cotton trees. *Texcal* covers a strip of land approximately two kilometers wide on the western limits of the municipio, and constitutes about ten per cent of the total land area of the municipio.

[3] Lands recovered from the Hacienda of Oacalco by the municipio in 1930 represent an exception to the rule. Here we find communally owned lands divided into *ejido* plots and worked with plow and oxen.